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ACTION AF-00

INFO LOG-00 NP-00 AID-00 ACQ-00 CIAE-00 INL-00 USNW-00
DODE-00 SRPP-00 DS-00 FBIE-00 VC-00 TEDE-00 INR-00
VCE-00 DCP-01 NSAE-00 IRM-00 SS-00 DSCC-00 DRL-02
NFAT-00 SAS-00 /003W

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8598
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 HARARE 001257

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER
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E.O. 12958: DECL. 04/06/11
TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [KDEM](#) [PINS](#) [ZI](#)
SUBJECT: ROAD MAP FOR IMPROVING ZIMBABWE-U.S. RELATIONSHIP

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARL IRVING. REASONS: 1.5
(B) AND (D).

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SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

1. (C) THE IMPENDING ARRIVAL OF A NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICA PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE STOCK OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ZIMBABWE. THAT RELATIONSHIP HAS DETERIORATED BADLY AS THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASINGLY ELIED ON VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION TO PRESERVE ITS HOLD ON POWER AND HAS DRIVEN A ONCE-PROMISING CONOMY INTO THE GROUND. CAUGHT IN A PAN- AFRICAIST TIME WARP, THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP SEEM CLUELESS ABOUT HOW THEY COME OFF TO US AND WHAT THEY MUST DO TO REVERSE ZIMBABWE'S INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE BELIEVE THERE IS VALUE IN DEVELOPING A DIPLOMATIC "ROADMAP" WHICH SPELLS OUT THE STEPS PRESIDENT MUGABE AND HIS GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE IN ORDER TO EXTRICATE THEMSELVES FROM THE CURRENT MESS AND IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES.

2. (C) TOWARD THAT END, WE HAVE ATTEMPTED IN THIS CABLE TO DISTILL OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ZIMBABWE INTO A LIST OF SPECIFIC, ACHIEVABLE ACTIONS THE GOZ MUST TAKE IN THE SHORT TERM IF IT WANTS TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH US. AS WE ENVISION IT, THE ROADMAP COULD BE PRESENTED AS A NON-PAPER TO PRESIDENT MUGABE, FOREIGN MINISTER MUDENGE, OR ANOTHER SENIOR OFFICIAL, AND WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY GUIDE OUR DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE. THE GOZ MAY BE DISMISSIVE OF SUCH AN EFFORT ON OUR PART, BUT WE BELIEVE THERE IS VALUE NONETHELESS IN MAKING ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THE SPECIFIC ACTIONS WE CONSIDER PREREQUISITES TO AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP. WE REALIZE THAT PRESENTING THE GOZ WITH A MERE LIST OF DEMANDS IS PROBABLY NOT THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH. THE ROADMAP SHOULD ALSO LAY OUT PARTICULAR PRESSURES AND INCENTIVES THAT THE UNITED STATES IS

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PREPARED TO UTILIZE IN OUR EFFORT TO ELICIT A POSITIVE CHANGE IN POLICY AND BEHAVIOR.

3. (C) WE HOPE THE TALKING POINTS RECOMMENDED BELOW MIGHT ALSO BE HELPFUL TO A/S-DESIGNATE KANSTEINER IN HIS SENATE CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, WHERE WE ASSUME HE WILL BE ASKED WHAT HE PLANS TO DO ABOUT ZIMBABWE'S RECALCITRANT LEADER. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

SUGGESTED SUBSTANCE OF ROAD MAP

4. (C) WE PROVIDE BELOW RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE CATEGORIES (AND SPECIFIC TALKING POINTS) WHICH MIGHT FORM THE SUBSTANCE OF A ROADMAP, AS WELL AS SUGGESTIONS OF POSSIBLE STICKS AND CARROTS. WE WOULD WELCOME THE DEPARTMENT'S FEEDBACK, BOTH ON THE ROADMAP CONCEPT AND OUR SUGGESTED SUBSTANCE. WE HAVE NOT ADDRESSED TIMELINES OR THE QUESTION OF WHICH GOZ ACTIONS MIGHT ELICIT WHICH REACTIONS FROM US, LEAVING SUCH REFINEMENT UP TO THE DEPARTMENT AND THE INTERAGENCY DECISION-MAKING PROCESS.

RULE OF LAW

-- REIN IN THE WAR VETERANS AND ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS WHO ARE CURRENTLY
BEING ALLOWED TO TERRORIZE ZIMBABWEAN CITIZENS -- FARMERS, FARM
WORKERS, TEACHERS, JUDGES, JOURNALISTS, BUSINESS OWNERS, AND
ANYONE SUSPECTED OF SUPPORTING THE OPPOSITION. ARREST AND
PROSECUTE THEIR LEADERS.

-- DISCONTINUE DEPLOYMENT OF SECURITY FORCES IN HARARE'S HIGH-
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DENSITY SUBURBS, WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN OBSERVED BEATING SUSPECTED
OPPOSITION SUPPORTERS.

-- REVOKE THE OCTOBER 6, 2000 STATUTORY INSTRUMENT GRANTING AMNESTY
TO MANY OF THE PERPETRATORS OF LAST YEAR'S PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE.

-- CONDEMN THE MURDERS COMMITTED IN THE RUN-UP TO -- AND AFTERMATH
OF -- THE JUNE 2000 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. COMMIT THE
RESOURCES NECESSARY TO BRING TO JUSTICE AS MANY SUSPECTS AS
POSSIBLE (THE PERPETRATORS IN MANY OF THESE CASES ARE WELL-KNOWN
BUT CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE FREELY IN THEIR COMMUNITIES).

-- SENIOR OFFICIALS ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AFFIRMING THE
GOVERNMENT'S RESPECT FOR AND INTENTION TO ABIDE IN LETTER AND
SPIRIT BY THE RULE OF LAW.

-- ARREST AND TRY THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE JANUARY 28 BOMBING OF
THE "DAILY NEWS" PRINTING PRESS.

-- CEASE IMMEDIATELY THE HARASSMENT AND INTIMIDATION OF WITNESSES
WHO HAVE TESTIFIED OR PLAN TO TESTIFY IN THE MDC'S LEGAL
CHALLENGES OF THE ELECTION RESULTS IN 37 PARLIAMENTARY

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8599
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 HARARE 001257

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CONSTITUENCIES.

-- HALT THE PRACTICE OF "RENTING OUT" WAR VETERANS TO SETTLE LABOR
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OR PERSONAL DISPUTES.

-- CLEARLY INSTRUCT LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL TO ARREST AND BRING TO
BOOK THE PERPETRATORS OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE
LAND OCCUPATIONS -- STEALING OF FENCES, IRRIGATION SYSTEMS, AND
CROPS, AND EVICTING FARM WORKERS FROM THEIR HOMES.

-- ABIDE BY ALL COURT RULINGS, PAST AND FUTURE.

DEMOCRATIZATION

-- FACILITATE THE ISSUANCE OF LICENSES TO INDEPENDENT RADIO
BROADCASTERS WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE UPCOMING PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION.

-- DEMONSTRATE COMMITMENT TO A FREE AND FAIR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
BY WELCOMING THE PARTICIPATION OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC
OBSERVERS AND FACILITATING THEIR ACCREDITATION IN A REASONABLE
TIMEFRAME.

-- PUBLISH THE VOTERS ROLL WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE ELECTION.

-- ABIDE BY THE RESULTS OF A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION AND ALLOW THE
WINNER -- WHOEVER IT IS -- TO ASSUME OFFICE.

-- ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT EXPRESSING THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT
TO THE SEPARATION OF POWERS, INCLUDING INDEPENDENCE OF THE
JUDICIARY, AND PUT AN END TO RHETORICAL AND PHYSICAL INTIMIDATION
OF JUDGES.

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-- ACCEPT PUBLICLY THE NCA'S EFFORT TO SECURE BROAD GRASS-ROOTS
SUPPORT FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION AND TO ORGANIZE A REFERENDUM, BUT
REFRAIN FROM ATTEMPTS TO ASSERT CONTROL OVER THE PROCESS.

LAND

-- RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WITH ALL STAKEHOLDERS TO SEEK
AGREEMENT ON A LEGAL, TRANSPARENT, AND EQUITABLE LAND REFORM
PROGRAM.

SPECIFIC INTERIM STEPS THE GOVERNMENT COULD TAKE:

-- EXPRESS PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO PROTECT PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS.

-- DEVELOP A COMPENSATION PLAN ACCEPTABLE TO FARM OWNERS FOR THE
IMMEDIATE PURCHASE OF COMMERCIAL FARMS THAT HAVE BEEN OFFERED FOR
RESETTLEMENT.

-- TRANSFER SQUATTERS OCCUPYING COMMERCIAL FARMS TO FARMS WHICH HAVE
BEEN OFFERED FOR RESETTLEMENT AND PURCHASED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

-- PROVIDE THOSE WHO ARE RESETTLED LEGALLY WITH THE NECESSARY
INFRASTRUCTURE, INPUTS, AND TRAINING TO BECOME PRODUCTIVE
FARMERS.

ECONOMIC REFORMS

-- RE-ENGAGE IN A MEANINGFUL, PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE WORLD
BANK, THE IMF, AND SIMILAR MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS.

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-- DEVISE AND IMPLEMENT POLICIES INTENDED TO RECAPTURE INVESTOR
CONFIDENCE AND ADDRESS SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL CURRENT ECONOMIC
SHORTCOMINGS: ADJUST THE OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE; MAKE PROGRESS ON
PRIVATIZATION; INCREASE ENERGY AND PARASTATAL TARIFFS; AND ALLOW
CONTINUED MARKET DETERMINATION OF PRICES ON BASICS AND ESSENTIAL
FOODSTUFFS

PRESSURES

-- WORK WITH KEY ALLIES -- INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA -- AND REGIONAL
AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO INCREASE POLITICAL PRESSURE ON
THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE.

-- WORK WITH KEY ALLIES TO IMPOSE OR THREATEN IMPOSITION OF TRAVEL
RESTRICTIONS FOR PRESIDENT MUGABE, KEY ADVISORS, AND OTHER SENIOR
OFFICIALS.

-- WORK WITH KEY ALLIES TO IDENTIFY ASSETS OF PRESIDENT MUGABE AND
KEY ADVISORS, AND FREEZE OR THREATEN TO FREEZE THEM.

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-- REVOKE VISAS OF CHILDREN OF SENIOR GOZ OFFICIALS STUDYING IN U.S.

-- PRESS FOR INCREASED SCRUTINY OF ZIMBABWE'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION
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BY THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

-- FINANCE INDEPENDENT RADIO STATION (OR TARGETTED VOA SERVICE TO ZIMBABWE). GIVEN THE RECENT PASSAGE OF A LAW WHICH EFFECTIVELY MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR INDEPENDENT RADIO BROADCASTERS TO SECURE A LICENSE, THE TRANSMITTER WOULD HAVE TO BE LOCATED OUTSIDE ZIMBABWE'S BORDERS.

-- PROVIDE DIRECT FUNDING TO THE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC).

-- WITHHOLD INVITATIONS TO MEMBERS OF ZIMBABWE DEFENSE FORCES (ZDF) TO PARTICIPATE IN CONTINENT-WIDE GATHERINGS, INCLUDING THOSE SPONSORED BY THE AFRICAN CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES.

-- WITHHOLD DELIVERY OF BIO-DIVERSITY EQUIPMENT TO THE ZDF.

INCENTIVES

-- PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL FUNDS FOR LAND ACQUISITION AND RESETTLEMENT.

-- SUPPORT PROVISION OF DEBT RELIEF IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

-- SUPPORT PROVISION OF WORLD BANK AND IMF ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE.

-- EXPAND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ACTIVITY AND FUNDING LEVELS.

-- RECONSIDER ZIMBABWE'S ELIGIBILITY FOR INCLUSION IN AGOA.

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-- RESTORE FUNDING FOR IMET AND SCHEDULE A JOINT COMBINED EXERCISE TRAINING (JCET).

-- EXTEND INVITATIONS TO POLICE OFFICIALS TO PARTICIPATE IN U.S.-SPONSORED TRAINING SESSIONS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACADEMY IN BOTSWANA AND RELEVANT U.S.-SPONSORED CONFERENCES.

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